

MULTILOYALTY AND NEW NATIONALISM IN INDONESIAN YOUNG GENERATION WHO JOIN ETHNIC-PRIMORDIAL STUDENT ASSOCIATIONS

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ABSTRACT

The main goal of this article is to understand how the development of ethnic-primordial student associations works continually foster and instill multi-loyalty among its members, not only to Indonesia as a nation-state, but also to ethnic-primordial with their ecosociocultural characteristics and religion. The competition among multiloyalties gives rise to the construction of new nationalism. Focus on construction of multi-loyalty and new nationalism in Indonesian young generation who join in ethnic-primordial associations, this study uses theory of constructivist-multicultural nationalism. Data were collected from students at the universities from various ethnic groups in Surabaya by observation, in-depth interviews, telephone, e-mail, FGD, and the social media. Using an emic-ethic approach, I show that there are variations in the construction of multi-loyalty among Indonesia's young generation in ethnic-primordial student associations and the existence of new nationalism as functional nationalism. Furthermore, the competition and contestation between multi-loyalty and new nationalism resulted: erosion of Indonesian nationalism in several student associations, especially from conflict areas such as Papua and Aceh and the strengthening of excessive loyalty for ethnic-primordial, especially religion with exclusivism, intolerance, and semiradical, but for students who are not experiencing ethnic tension or conflict, passion to remain united in Indonesian-ness with the Republic of Indonesia is still very strong.

Keywords: competition, functional nationalism, exclusivism, semiradical, NKRI

1. INTRODUCTION

The history of Indonesian nationalism cannot be separated from youth and students who play a major role in arousing and developing nationalism. *Boedi Oetomo* at 1908 was started by students at the STOVIA Medical School Batavia (Muljana, 2008:18), then *Sumpah Pemuda* at 1928 with a pledge "one homeland, one nation, and upholding the language of unity: Indonesia", and reached its peak in the proclamation of the independence of the Republic of Indonesia 1945 became an important milestone in the history of the rise of Indonesian nationalism which emphasized the main role of youth and students (Foulcher, 1997). Referred to as educational pilgrims (Anderson, 1983), students who are studying from various regions are the main drivers and actors in the creation of nationalism. After their educational pilgrimage was over, especially in Batavia which

was at the top of the education pyramid, the Dutch colonial government's policy did not send people back from various regions to their home regions. The Sundanese were not sent to Sundanese land; educated Batak people are not returned to the highlands of North Sumatera; they are sent to new places throughout Indonesia. Therefore, all the major ethno-linguistic groups, at the end of the colonial period, were accustomed to initiating an archipelago stage, which was laid out for them, where each had a role to play (Anderson, 1983).

In the development of Indonesian nationalism after the independence of 1945, the spirit of Indonesian nationalism is change or be different from the original intent. It is characterized by increasing tension between ethnic relations and ethnic demands of independence. For examples, ethnic conflicts in Sambas Kalimantan and Ambon Maluku, the demands for independence in

Papua (Darsono, 2015) and Aceh which still like *api dalam sekam*. The first generation is Bung Karno and Bung Hatta, the 'second wave nationalism' as seen on Habibie, the last generation Budiman Sodjatmiko in the reformation era (Dhakidae, 2001) and the millennial generation as Y and Z generation. There is a change of Indonesian concept in each generation.

In the contemporary era, changes in concepts and thoughts about the Indonesian-ness are also seen in the students of the present era forming primordial ties that lead to the rise of ethno-nationalism. The strengthening of these primordial ties to students is evident from the various activities of students who join in the bonds, groups, associations, and student associations based on ethnic. Not only based on ethnic similarities, but also smaller-scale than ethnic, sub-ethnic, geographical, political and religious. Generally, these ethnic, sub-ethnic, geographical, political, and religious associations, groups, or associations are formed by a "sense of destiny," as foreigners in "peoples" when they are in other ethnic groups. Because they feel the same fate, they gather in an ethnic group voluntarily, developments show the strength of ethnic-primordial loyalties.

Various associations of ethnic-based students can be exemplified as follows: *Ikatan Keluarga Mahasiswa Minang Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia* (IKMM-UKM), *Ikatan Mahasiswa Nias Indonesia* (IMANI) Jakarta, *Ikatan Pelajar Mahasiswa Kabupaten Mimika* (IPMAMI), *Aliansi Mahasiswa Papua* (AMP), *Himpunan Pelajar dan Mahasiswa Fakfak* (HIPELMAFA), etc. In addition to ethnic-based student groups, student groups based on similar geographical or political areas are also present. It can be mentioned randomly, such as the *Ikatan Mahasiswa Madiun di Yogyakarta*, the *Perkumpulan Mahasiswa Riau di Yogyakarta*, the *Asosiasi Mahasiswa Klaten di UGM*, the *Ikatan Mahasiswa Pacitan di Surabaya*, the *Ikatan Mahasiswa Ponorogo di Surabaya*, and various similar ties based on the student's home area. In these association, they continually foster and instill multi-loyalty among its members, not only to Indonesia as a nation-state, but also to the ethnic-primordial nationalism with all their ecologies, socioeconomic and cultural characteristics and to religion as a basis for religiosity, as *Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah* (IMM), *Ikatan Mahasiswa NU* (IMANU) and *Perhimpunan Mahasiswa Katolik Republik Indonesia* (PMKRI).

The various student groups that are based on similarities of ethnic, sub-ethnic, geographical, regional-politic, and religious are generally informal, although the activities performed can be formal. Ethnic-based groups and associations or student associations have existed for a long time, but the activities carried out in recent developments show stronger ethnic-primordial

loyalties rather than national ties. Interestingly, their various activities are able to attract members to become loyal members. Their loyalty to this group can exceed their loyalty to the larger community, even to their own individuals. For the sake of this group, they voluntarily sacrifice individual interests and other interests on a larger scale, such as brawls just because of football between ethnic groups, fights among students from different campuses, even fights between students in one campus but different faculties or departments.

In other words, the loyalty of students who joined this ethnic-based student association gave birth to dual nationalism and multi-nationalism who called new-nationalism. So, focus of this study is the construction of multi-loyalty and dual-nationalism in the Indonesian young generation who join in ethnic-primordial based student in the perspective of constructivist nationalism dan multiculturalism. Formulation of the problem as follows: (1) how are the construction of multi-loyalty among Indonesia's young generation in ethnic-primordial college-student associations and existence of dual or multi-nationalism in themselves? (2) how are the contestation between multi-loyalty and dual or multi-nationalism?

Scientific-theoretical, the findings of this study can be used to revise and complement existing theories of loyalty and nationalism, especially in Indonesia case. In addition, applicative-practical, it can be used as consideration to formulate policies in developing nationalism in the younger generation who live in many loyalties and multi-nationalism, including those based on religious or religiosity with a constructive-multiculturalist perspective. This can contribute to thinking about strategies for developing nationalism that are in accordance with the conditions of the present and future Indonesia young generation.

2. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

2.1 The Study of Nationalism

Studies on nationalism in various countries show that there are variations in nationalism in the contemporary era. In the symposium about nationalism (2018), several studies show this. Florian Bieber (2018) wrote "Is Nationalism on the Rise? Assessing Global Trends" as an important paper which was then responded to by other papers. Zsuzsa Csergo (2018) writes "Ethno-nationalism and the Subversion of Liberal Democracy" which agrees with Bieber's critique of a wave-link image of presence nationalism in the world, including the concept of 'endemic nationalism' as the concept of banal nationalism developed by Michael Billig (1995). In this symposium, Erin K. Jenne (2018) disagree about Bieber's concept of nationalism was rise globally. In the article "Is Nationalism or Ethnopolitism on the Rise Today?", she argue that endemic nationalisme is ethnopolitism.

Several articles published in the journals, as journal of *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity* and journal of *Nationalism and Ethnic Politic*, show various nationalism studies. There is an intensive interaction between ethnicity, tradition, identity, and collective memory in shaping nationalism, including religion. The interaction of these components shows various patterns, ranging from interactions that take place smoothly, the presence of increasing tensions, to the occurrence of identity conflicts. Mesut Yegen (2007) addresses the ways in which Turkish nationalism has perceived the Kurdish question and shown that both Turkish nationalism and the Kurdish question have passed through some paradigmatic moments in the twentieth century. The case of Cyprus studied by Adamantia Pollis (2013) also shows the social construction of ethnicity and nationality. This study analyzes the processes by which two ethno-nationalism, Greek and Turkish, were constructed in Cyprus.

George Mavromatis (2018) studied about Greek citizenship which the Greek citizenship tradition has contained both ethnic and civic elements and it has replicated the geographical logic of a European divide between the East (ethnic) and West (civic), attempts to shed light on this traditions in transit by bringing to the fore contemporary tensions between ethnic and civic elements of citizenship. These ongoing frictions have been mostly manifested in the ever-changing conditionality of the term of acquisition of Greek citizenship by second and one-and-a-half generation migrant children. Most importantly, these antagonism between an ethnicized (ethnic) citizenship and politicized (civic) nationality became discursively played out within the arena of migrant integration discourse.

The interaction of identity and nationalism also comes to the fore in the context of Catalonia and Quebec. Jaime Lluich (2010) explains the establishment of new varieties of nationalism within the national movement of Quebec and Catalonia in the period 1976—2005. He compared the process that led to the founding of the ADQ (autonomism) in Quebec with the process that culminated in the transformation and de facto re-founding of ERC (independentism) in Catalonia during the period 1976—2005. Ivan Serano (2013) in article “Just a Matter of Identity? Support for Independence in Catalonia” found “the result of the research point to the importance of identity in explaining attitudes towards independence but also that it receives widespread support across Catalan society, suggesting much more complex relations”.

In the case of youth or student movement, Atdhe Hetemi (2017) in the article “Student Movement in Kosovo (1981): Academic or Nationalist?” analysed two diametrical opposed dogmatic dilemmas took shape “illegal groups”

considerably supported by student, demanded the proclamation of the Republic of Kosovo and/or Kosova’s unification with Albania. On the other side of the spectrum, “modernists”, gathering, among others, the political and academic elites, pushed for the improvement of rights of Kosovars guaranteed under the “brotherhood and unity” concept advocated within the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY).

Valeria Kasamara, Anna Sorokina and Marina Maximenkova (2018) write article “Pride and Shame in Collective Memory of Russian and American Youth”. In this article, they examine collective attitudes of American and Russian student toward national historical events that elicit pride or shame. The authors argue that perceptions of the past have been a core component of national identity and may have an citizen’s political behavior in the present.

2.2 Nationalism and Loyalty

Nationalism is a mental attitude in which the supreme loyalty of individuals is for the nation (Britannica Encyclopedia, 1956:14) or the strong devotion to one's own nation. In a broader sense, nationalism is seen as a political and social attitude of groups of a nation that has the same culture, language, and region as well as the same ideals and goals, and thus feels a deep loyalty towards the nation (KBBI, 2016). More than that, nationalism is a belief, as written by Kenneth Minoque (Kuper and Kuper, 2002) that every nation has the right and obligation to shape itself as a state. The problem is, there are many difficulties in making the specification of "what is the nation", even though among the most important things of a nation is the existence of a shared culture and the language of unity. If the nation is seen as a cultural or cultural community, language, religion, history, and myth are an important part. In this case, language plays the most important role in maintaining national enthusiasm and determination, both as functional requirements and as a reference for identification as a nation (Delanty, 2001).

The debate over the concept of this nation, can be traced in many writings: starting from Ernest Renan (1881) "What is a nation" which is considered to be the first layer of the concept of the nation, Carleton B. Hayes (1931), Hans Kohn (1944) *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study of Origin and Background*, Miroslav Hroch (1985) *Social Precondition of National Revival in Europe*, Benedict Anderson (1983) *Imagined Communities*, J. Armstrong (1982) *Nations before Nationalism*, J. Breuilly (1982) *Nationalism and the State*, Ernest Gellner (1983) *Nations and Nationalism*, AD Smith *Theories of Nationalism* (1983), E.J. Hobsbawm (1992) *Nation and Nationalism Since 1780*, and others. There is no satisfying criterion that can be obtained to decide which of the several human

collectivities is called a nation (Hobsbawm,1992) and there is no way to show researchers how to distinguish a nation from other entities. Although the facts appear clear, the explanation of nation, nationality, and nationalism becomes a long-term dispute because it proves difficult to formulate, let alone elaborate (Anderson, 1983). As stated by Bieber (2018), "like air, nationalism is both ubiquitous and elusive. It permeates the global system, states, peoples' behavior and can be seen as both conservative and as a revolutionary force, threatening the status quo".

When Hobsbawm (1992) quoting Renan's words and emphasized that believing in erroneous history is part of being a nation, Anderson (1983) uses the point of view that nationality, or nationness, as well as nationalism, are special types of cultural artifacts. To understand it requires careful consideration of how these special cultural artifacts exist, how their meanings change over time, and why, now, they evoke such powerful emotional validity. The creation of these artifacts was a spontaneous distillation of "crosses" of various historical forces, but once created, the artifacts became "modular", can be embedded with various degrees of self-awareness into a wide range of social expanses, merged with a series of broad political and ideological order. These distinctive cultural artifacts have aroused a deep sense of attachment.

Thus, the concepts and definitions given by theorists about nationalism are still confusing because of the three paradoxes (Anderson, 1983), namely the paradox between (1) the objective modernity of nations in the historians' eyes vs their subjective antiquity in the eyes of the nationalists, (2) the formal universality of nationality as a sociocultural concept vs the inevitability of its specific concrete manifestations, (3) the 'political' power of such nationalism vs their philosophical poverty or even its incoherence. Nation in Anderson's definition is a political community and imagined as something limited is inherently and sovereignly. Nation is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will not know and will never know most of the other members, will not meet them, and never even hear about them, yet in the minds of each lives the imagined of their community.

As Bieber (2018) state, "nationalism is notoriously difficult to measure. First, attitudes and their social and political manifestations can differ. Second, in the most countries, nationalism has a negative association, thus measuring nationalism requires proxies. These will differ around the world. When we are considering the recent rise of nationalism, in its various form we can therefore only indicate trends and patterns, not give a definitive narrative".

In line with Benedict Anderson's thoughts, this study believes that nationality and nationalism

is a special types of cultural artifacts. In a long historical process, the symbols of Indonesian nationalism were instilled in national self-awareness with political and ideological arrangements that were able to generate a deep sense of attachment so as to create a shared feeling, shared culture as an Indonesian nation. Thus, the Indonesian nation itself is a totality that does not differentiate ethnicity, race, ethnicity, and religion so as to create harmonious and coherent social relations with the principles of equality and kinship. This means that all group interests are institutionalized into various social, political, economic, or religious organizations with the aim of eliminating superiority between groups and ethnicities, especially colonial superiority.

Indonesian nationalism, therefore, relates to the Indonesian nation as a collectivity that demands loyalty, both individuals and ethnic groups within it. This means that the supreme loyalty of individuals and ethnic groups is only for the Indonesian people. This loyalty arises because of the awareness of the importance of collective identity as an Indonesian nation that is different from other nations. It is this collective identity that encourages the desire to live together or an active corporate will which is the most important substance of nationalism. Of course, it is understood that the nation is not static and given concept, but dynamic and develops in accordance with the dynamics of the forces that give birth to it or the forces that fight in the interaction between individuals and ethnic groups within Indonesian nationality. So, the younger generation, especially university students in the contemporary era have the different concept for Indonesian nationalism.

2. Constructivist Multiculturalist Nationalism

As a social entity and at the same time social identity as a nation, nationalism can be seen as something that has actually been real and developed throughout the history of the nation concerned, but can also be seen as something constructed. This gave rise to a debate between the two main groups of nationalism theory (Kellas, 1998; Delanty, 2001) with various variants, namely essentialist/primordialist perspective and constructivist perspective. The essentialist perspective developed by Anthony Smith (1971; 1986; 1991; 1995) views nationalism as authentic traditional culture (Delanty, 2001) or ancient cultural raw material and develops through a process called self-contained cultural process (Kellas, 1998) so that ethnic existence with a history of culture guarantees the existence of nationalism. According to this perspective, (a) a nation is based on primordial essence, (b) authentic cultural traditions can be explained by history, and (c) the strength of national traditions is a discourse that has developed throughout the history of the nation's traditions (Delanty, 2001). Thus, nationalism is continuous and continues throughout history. In this

perspective, the roots of nationalism are the elements that make up the nation, namely tangible elements in the form of identity, such as language, religion, territorial and intangible that are psychological, in the form of emotional bonds that are formed from shared experiences, beliefs, and values (Kellas, 1998).

Constructive perspective is an important part of nationalism theory as a new perspective that sees the nation as a social construct (Sykora, 2009; Delanty, 2001) developed by Benedict Anderson with imagined community (1983/2001), Eric Hobsbawm (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1990, in Delanty, 2001:437) with the invention tradition concept, Ernest Gellner with the concept of fabrication as true community in post-traditional form of cohesion (Gellner, 1983; 1987; 1994), Billig (1995) with banal nationalism or is called post-historical nationalism (Delanty, 2001), George Mosse (1975; 1985; 1993) with the concept of cultural logic of nationalism and John Breuilly conducting politics by mass mobilization (1982 in Delanty, 2001: 477).

In contrast to essentialist views, a constructivist perspective sees that nationalism is not formed because of primordial elements that are both biological conception and contextual injustice, but through social engineering, elite strategic creation by utilizing primordial inheritance and social, political, cultural settings contextual that they are facing. In this view, there are two important components involved, namely leaders or leadership and organizations that use nationalism to mobilize the masses. Because nationalism is constructed by social actors, nationalism cannot be explained only through historical references. A nation is a narrative discourse that is always open to be formulated according to its purpose. Nationalism is primarily a modern construction, a creation of strategic elites (Delanty, 2001: 473) which is different from traditional and historical cultures. Thus, nationalism is related to invented tradition (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983 in Delanty, 2001: 473) or imagined political community (Anderson, 1983) because the nation is an imaginary discourses. The allow individuals to imagine without having to personally encounter it and its inhabitants. Ernest Gellner (1983; 1987; 1994 in Delanty, 2001; O'Leary, 1997) uses the concept of post-traditional form of cohesion which refers to the ability to describe cultural forms, reshape, and make a new identity, new community, without forgetting its continuation from the past.

Contemporary literatures relating to new social movements, including the nationalism movement, as written by Delanty (2001), show a shift in focus from identity to mobilization. Likewise constructivist nationalism is a mobilism as written by O'Mahony and Delanty (1998) through the concept of identity formation. More than just

mass mobilization, nationalism is a project constructed in a relational field that is created through cultural elements called cultural nationalism, as Leerssen (2006) uses the term cultural nationalism and cultivation of culture. He took the theory of Miroslav Hroch (1985 and 1993) about the three phases of nationalism which he called the ABC phase, namely phase A, raising cultural consciousness which would be a prerequisite for the emergence of phase B, namely social demand, while phase C called political activism, namely the formation of thinkable nation as the focus of political loyalty.

Related with the national community, the problem then arises as to how the relationship among cultural diversity, especially between unity and diversity. Following Gerald Kernerman (2005) when discussing multicultural nationalism in Canada, that on the one hand it requires similarity of citizenship treatment for various cultures, ethnicities, races, languages, religions, genders, etc., while on the other hand it is necessary to differentiate because of various characteristics, both rules, procedures, symbols, and specific political systems. In other words, there is an opposition between the similarity and difference of citizenship, between the similarity of division and asymmetry of federalism, between equality of citizenship and citizenship plus, between individual rights and collective rights, between impartial representation and base-groups, and others. Instead of placing the two groups in an oppositional opposition, let alone the opposite, Kernerman places them in a position that is dialectically interconnected. Thus, multicultural nationalism is a site of polarization which is driven by mutual exclusive understanding of units of identity, where groups, nations, or people feel exist in the collective understanding of the political community. Nationalism includes the conception of parts and the whole in building identity. Diversity is understood as part of a different identity and the difference is meaningful in a variety of categories of identity called "the logic of identity". Identity itself is built grounded in "*refusal of alterity, a denial of complicity, in favour of reified, and simplified identity categories*" (Kernerman, 2005:6). In this context, multiculturalism delivered by Parekh (2000) is relevant.

3. RESEARCH METHOD

As an ideology, nationalism, especially Indonesian nationalism can be understood from two main perspectives, cultural pluralism and multiculturalism (Koentjaraningrat, 1993; Sedyawati, 2008; Elson, 2008). This study uses a multiculturalism perspective which believes that ethnic and cultural groups with the diversity of individuals in them can coexist, not only through the principle of participatory, but more than that,

through the principle of pro-existence, emancipatory (Sparringa, 2007). Thus, Indonesianness is not only seen in the concept of difference or otherness, but also affirms that with all the differences and otherness, the various groups can exist not only have equal opportunities to exist in coexistence, but also encourage minority groups to exist (pro-existence) in their interactions with larger groups.

Assuming that social reality is a subjective construction, with individual analysis units of subjective meanings, this study uses the social definition paradigm (Ritzer, 1984) qualitative approach research (Bryman, 2004: 265-417; Sarantakos, 2002; Neuman, 2000: 344-442) and in the form of qualitative-descriptive research (Lincoln & Denzin, 2000; Silverman 1997; Silverman 1993; Creswell, 1994). In accordance with its characteristics, data mining is done in an in-depth, complexity, and richness, and subject as the expert (Kasper, 1994). Researcher's relationship with the subject of research is emancipatory and reciprocal, not hierarchical and exploitative (Oakley, 1981, from Sparringa, 1997:60). The technique to extract data in open-ended interviews requires the patience of researchers in silence and invisibility (Kasper, 1994). Through a grounded approach (Strauss and Corbin, 1994) the results of this study are formulated in thick description (Geertz, 1992:6).

This research was conducted in the city of Surabaya. The subject is students who join ethnic-primordial student associations, both in public and private universities. Students are part of the youth who are conducting educational pilgrimages which will become educated citizens, become professional workers and will occupy important positions in their profession. Beginning with the snowball technique then selected purposively in accordance with the characteristics of the study, the subjects of this study were thirty-seven students from various ethnic-primordial associations.

Data is collected by observation techniques, in-depth interviews, both directly and via telephone, through e-mail, focus group discussion (FGD) and the social media. The results are documented with field notes, diary notes, recording with a tape recorder which is then transcribed and notes on the results of telephone interviews. Data is also collected from the internet through blogs, facebook, twitter, or other posts in social media. The analysis is done by hermeneutic and is described in thick description.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Construction of Multiloyalty and New Nationalism

The historical process is able to give birth to a young generation of Indonesians who have different thoughts, desires, and hopes about Indonesian-ness, including critics for various

changes in national concepts based on the dynamics of their thinking. The early thinking of the Soekarno-Hatta era was different from the Habibie era and friends who imagined 'second wave nationalism', and different from the new generation (Dhakidae, 2001) in the reform era. In the same generation, there were differences in the concept of Indonesian-ness, especially the concept of the nation and nationality of Indonesia, such as Bung Karno who believed that Indonesia was no less from Sabang to Merauke, including Papua, but did not include Malaya; Hatta with federal Indonesia without Papua; Tan Malaka who explicitly stated that Indonesia covers Malaya and the Philippines. The new generation of the reform era, such as Budiman Sudjatmiko, actually offered the concept that Indonesia must give up East Timor.

Changes in concepts and thoughts about Indonesian-ness also appear in students of the contemporary era who form ethnic-primordial bonds, leading to ethnic nationalism. The strengthening of primordial ties to students is evident from the various activities of students who join student bonds, groups, and associations based on ethnic-primordial. Not only that, its precisely associations that are smaller than ethnic, can be sub-ethnic, based on similarity in geographical area (islands), similarity in political territory (provincial or district level), and even religiosity and religion. Generally, these ethnic, sub-ethnic, geographical, political, and religious ties, groups, or associations are formed because of "shared feelings", as nomads in "the land of people" when they are in other ethnic groups. So they gather in an ethnic group voluntarily. So, the bond is indeed essential-primordial which is the origin of ethno-nationalism.

The various groups of associations are generally informal, their membership is voluntary and open, even though the activities displayed can be formal and even in related with the state. Such ties have indeed existed for a long time, but their activity in the contemporary period shows the strength of ethnic-primordial loyalty rather than national ties. Interestingly, their activities are able to attract members to become loyal members, even exceeding their loyalty to the larger community, even to their own individual self. For the sake of the group, they voluntarily sacrifice individual interests and other large-scale interests, such as "irrational" activities, such as brawls only because of inter-ethnic football, student fights because of different campuses, even student fights in a different faculty or department.

Ethnic-based student associations or groups exist, although new groups based on pleasure, hobbies, lifestyle, ideology, and other new tendencies emerge. On the internet, the presence of primordial ties is prominent, for example by entering the keyword "ethnic student association", more than fifty thousand results can be obtained

from Google, both in the form of articles and writings about ethnic student associations, such as profiles. When the keyword was narrowed down to "ethnic student ties in Surabaya", more than twenty-five thousand results could be accessed. This shows the strengthening of ethnic-based ties, associations or groups of students.

In almost all ethnic-primordial student associations, there is a mechanism to instill loyalty, not only loyalty to Indonesia as a nation-state, but also loyalty to ethnic origin, traditional ethnic values, and religion as the basis of religiosity. This mechanism is institutionalized structurally in an organizational forum, with well-established organization administrators, and neat institutional rules and among them are strictly implemented. Every time, there is a newcomer, usually in groups periodically at the beginning of the lecture year, there is always a new member initiation mechanism that is directed at planting organizational values, solidarity, and emotional primordial bonds, besides rational. This is intended to foster member loyalty towards the values developed in the association.

Loyalty to ethnic origin is seen as very important because the ethnic origin is the first and primary environment that raises them so that it needs to be maintained in the midst of new values experienced later. Ethnic symbols become the main menu in the planting of ethnic values, in addition to the region, natural wealth, ethnic local wisdom, and challenges of ethnic groups in the future. Ethnic sociocultural values, such as togetherness, mutual cooperation, mutual assistance, and willingness to sacrifice for each ethnic origin are also intensively instilled in the members. New national values are also embedded alongside universal globalizing values. The phenomenon that also stands out is the strong planting of religious values in certain groups, not only groups that are specifically engaged in the religious field, but also ethnic-based groups. In certain cases, these religious values go beyond normality and become inclusive and radical characterized by intolerant behavior and monopoly on religious truth.

In the end, a variety of values are constructed as mandates and instruction of struggle when one learns to be learned human beings until the time when they become professionals in their respective fields. These mandate and instruction are becomes the key to the birth of multi-loyalty, namely loyalty to many values and many community groups. Loyalty to the ethnic community is the primary, besides loyalty to Indonesia nation-state. Ethno-nationalism contested with Indonesian nationalism and even religiosity nationalism. This is called new nationalism in the Indonesian young generation who joined ethnic-primordial based associations, nationalism which was built on loyalty to many communities and more functional values.

The existence of new nationalism, both the dual and multi multi-nationalism in the bonds and ethnic-primordial associations is indeed not uniform, but many variants. There are at least three categories, in which there are gradations in each group, namely (1) groups that are extremely loyal to ethnic communities and demand ethnic independence, such as Papuan and Acehese, (2) middle groups who are ethnically loyal and loyal also in Indonesia, and (3) groups that extreme place Indonesia as the main loyalty. In addition, there is loyalty based on religiosity. There are several factors that influence this, including the following.

1. Ethnic origins with tangible characteristics, such as geographic region, natural resources, and race, and intangible, such as economic, sociocultural conditions, and the spirit that arises due to conflict, both inter-ethnic conflict and ethnic conflict with the state are the dominant factors in many associations.
2. Exposure to media as a result of information disclosure through internet networks also has a role in forming variants of the loyalty of association members. The ease of accessing information, uploading and downloading and then disseminating it, as well as the ease of exchanging information are important factors.
3. The strength and breadth of the network of communication and interaction, both nationally, regionally and internationally, especially with 'hardline' groups and funders are also important factors.
4. The factor that also cannot be excluded is the political affiliation of members of the ethnic student association. As a young generation who will later become political successors, most students in this primordial-based association have political affiliation. Therefore, the political mentor they participated in also played a role in shaping their nationalism.

Loyalty in many communities and values fosters the existence of new nationalism, both dualnationalism and multi-nationalism, although with varying degrees. Such nationalism can be called functional nationalism because the primary loyalty they provide is based on functional aspects. Nationalism is constructed as part of aspects of life that are functional and provide incentives in their lives. If it is useless and beneficial to them, "nationalism is nonsense", "better life abroad", and "choosing independence" as part of their expression of the Indonesian national concept.

4.2 New Nationalism Contestation

With the concept of functional nationalism, the construction of various loyalties and nationalism develops dynamically so that it is in a continuous space of contestation. This contestation is not in a vacuum, but is directly related to the political elite, contemporary issues such as elections and elite

circulation, economic, social, cultural, environmental, religion and other contemporary issues. So that, mass mobilization as part of elite strategy in many political events becomes a determinant in the contestation of the new nationalism.

For some students, nation is constructed as a product of the similarity of construction of essential-primordial elements which includes history, race, geographical region with various natural resources, patterns of life that form a culture together with various tribes, languages, religions, and various traditions that appear on various cultural symbols and attributes, which then give birth to a shared identity as a distinctive community and are understood as their ancestral heritage and are considered as shared property, both individually and collectively. This concept places ethnic-primordial groups as a nation and at the same time instills a spirit in the young generation that they are the heirs of all these essential primordial elements. This spirit is the basis of students from Papua and Aceh, parts of Madura and Kalimantan at a simpler level. Students from Papua strongly demand independence, students from Aceh still consider "fire in the husk" (*api dalam sekam*) students from Madura see the potential of Madura to become its own province after a comprehensive study was conducted. Javanese students are relatively more moderate looking at national issues and are willing to place Java as a tribe.

In the context of the construction of the nation and nationalism, this study found concepts that developed in the following ethnic student associations.

1. The view appears that there has been an imbalance and inequality of education, social, cultural, political and especially economic, between Javanese and outside Java. Java versus outside Java was an important factor in forming variants of loyalty and nationalism in the younger generation who joined ethnic primordial associations. Javanese vs outside Java inequality is seen as an injustice that can reduce and erode the spirit of Indonesian nationhood, especially in student associations from outside Java. Indonesia is still divided into two, Java and outside Java.
2. The inequality and injustice that gave birth to the perception of Java vs. outside Java was triggered by various factors. In the view of the students joining this ethnic association, these factors include (a) Indonesia's development strategy is not on target so that the results of development are only enjoyed by certain people, while most other people cannot enjoy it, (b) still the proliferation of corrupt behavior in local leadership, such as in Papua, and (c) an element of intentions from the Government to make the area outside Java a proxy for Javanese wealth.
3. Against these various phenomena, although not all of them are because there are still some that are not the case, the idea is to choose "independent" by separating from Indonesia, especially Papua and Aceh. In addition, student activists from Papuan student associations concluded: (a) Papua's history is indeed different from other ethnicities in the process of decolonization, especially since Papuan nationalism has indeed developed since the Dutch colonial period, (b) Papuan nationalism, although their ethnicity is also very large and often inter-ethnic tension also occurs, is stronger than Indonesian nationalism, (c) physically, "the Papuan nation" does have different races, Melanesia, (d) persecution, oppression, and other forms of gun violence the "Indonesian Government" through the military against the Papuan people increasingly fostered the spirit of the "Papuan nation" for independence and widened the distance of Indonesia's national unity in the hearts of the Papuan people, and (e) for such interests, *Dewan Papua*, organizations (*Organisasi Papua Merdeka*), and other associations, or even individual students should also develop and foster the spirit of independence for the "Papuan nation". It still relates to students from Papua who are in Surabaya, because in their hearts a spirit of independence develops, they are relatively closed when dealing with other ethnic communities. They are also reluctant to discuss matters concerning the "spirit of independence of the Papuan people".
4. In contrast to the development of the idea of separating from Indonesia to form a nation and its own country, the enthusiasm to remain united in Indonesia with the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is still relatively strong. This was seen in students from West Nusa Tenggara and East Nusa Tenggara, Batak-Sumatra, and Bugis-Makassar, and especially Java. Indonesia is a great nation that must be kept in its greatness. The spirit of ethnic-primordialism that leads to ethnic separation is a "*pandangan sempit*" that needs to be minimized as the spirit of the "*Sumpah Pemuda*".
5. However, among the students included in this group also did not like to see behavior that considered Java to be superior to outside Java. Therefore, they provide conditions if Indonesian nationalism still wants to be developed, including (a) development strategies must be changed in accordance with the spirit of local communities, (b) the Government needs and must involve local communities in each development process, and (c) termination of human rights violations in all regions of Indonesia, especially Papua, and (d) need to be given a sense of justice for the community

against human rights violations committed so far.

6. An important phenomenon that should not be ignored is the strengthening of loyalty to religion and religiosity as described in the previous section.

In the process of contestation of various loyalties and the development of new nationalism, both dual or multi-nationalism, in the Indonesian young generation who joined in ethnic-primordial students associations, the following thesis could be formulated.

1. The contestation between and among multi-loyalty and new nationalism has resulted in the erosion of Indonesian nationalism in several members of the association, especially those from conflict areas such as Papua and Aceh.
2. The strengthens of loyalty and excessive love for religion and religiosity give rise to exclusivism, intolerance and religious-based semiradicalism.
3. For students who have not experienced ethnic tensions and conflicts in their ethnic origin, their determination and enthusiasm to remain in the Republic of Indonesia is still very strong. Indonesian nationalism is far more important and main than ethnicity-based nationalism.

5. CONCLUSION

Based on the analysis with the perspective of multiculturalist constructivist theory which places loyalty and nationalism as a mobilistic and dynamic social construction, the conclusions can be formulated as follows.

1. There are variations in multi-loyalty construction on the Indonesian young generation who join ethnic-primordial student associations; there are at least three categories, in which there are gradations in each category: (1) groups that are extremely loyal to the ethnic community and ignore loyalty to the nation and state of Indonesia and demand ethnic independence, as happened in Papua and Aceh, (2) middle-moderate groups whose loyalty to ethnicity is proportional to their loyalty to the nation and state of Indonesia, and (3) groups which extremely place Indonesia as the main loyalty so that their Indonesia is more dominant than its ethnicity. This variation is influenced by several factors, including (a) ethnic origin, (b) media exposure, (c) network communication and interaction, and (d) affiliates and political mentors. The variant of multi-loyalty construction results in the existence of new nationalism, both dual nationalism and multi-nationalism, which are based on functional aspects. This can be called functional nationalism, nationalism which is based on functions and benefits that can be obtained by members of the association.

2. The existence of new nationalism in functional concepts, the construction of loyalty and nationalism develops dynamically and continuously contests. This contestation is related to the political elite, elite circulation and elections, economy, social, culture, environment, religion and other contemporary issues so that mass mobilization becomes an inseparable part. This contestation resulted in (a) the erosion of Indonesian nationalism in several association members who came from conflict areas, (b) the strengthening of excessive loyalty to religion which gave birth to exclusivism, intolerance and semiradicalism, and (c) for students who did not experience ethnic conflict, determination and the spirit of Indonesian-ness in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is still very strong.

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